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## THE PASTORAL—ANCIENT AND MODERN<sup>1</sup>

I am to speak this evening of a single phase of the influence of classical literature upon the literatures of the modern world, and I have taken a department which is one of the least familiar, and perhaps one of the least important, of all. And I have done so, partly because it is a department to which I have devoted a good many years of study—so that I can speak, if not with some authority, at least with some confidence—and partly because it seemed possible to give a general outline of it, and still keep within a decent limit of time. I mean what is called the Pastoral, and especially Pastoral Poetry.

The name pastoral is applied to any composition which professes to set forth the life of shepherds, or in which shepherds are supposed to be the speakers. Such poetry is sometimes called bucolic, which is merely a Greek name for the same thing, while single poems of the sort are commonly known as idyls or eclogues.

The earliest pastoral poems which we possess are found among the Idyls of Theocritus, a Greek writer who lived in Sicily and in Alexandria, in the third century before Christ. The commonest subjects of his Idyls are, first, the love-song, whether of courtship or complaint, second, the dirge or lament over a dead shepherd, and, third, the singing-match between two herdsmen, where each stakes a prize and an umpire is called in to decide between them. The poems themselves are always more or less realistic—sometimes almost too realistic—and their subjects are not too far removed from the life and conversation of actual shepherds. The scenery, too, is regularly such as may still be found in Sicily. We see the herdsmen and their flocks wandering on the long ranges of the hills, or resting in the meadows of asphodel and cythus. We hear their piping as they lie reclined at noonday—the hour when men and flocks seek the shade, when the trees are throbbing with the voice of the cicada, when the lizard is sleeping on the rough stone-wall, and the thistledown is floating on the heated air. We see the yellow bees flitting around the springs, and listen to the 'music of water that falleth from the high face of the rock' or to the murmurs of the sea. We watch the tunny-fishers cruising far below, or look out upon the

labors of the harvest-field or threshing-floor, and even think—with the poet—of Demeter herself standing smiling by, with sheaves and poppies in her hands.

Some of the themes treated by Theocritus are repeated by two other Greek poets, Bion and Moschus. For example, each has a dirge after the model of Theocritus's First Idyl; and these have served in their turn as the model of many other dirges—the greatest of them, Shelley's *Adonais*<sup>2</sup>.

One of the conventions of the pastoral elegy is, that the subject of the poem is represented as a shepherd moving amid rustic scenes, as, for example, in Milton's *Lycidas*:

For we were nursed upon the self-same hill,  
Fed the same flock by fountain, shade and rill.

This use of pastoral imagery begins with Moschus, and it has become traditional in modern literature, to "express in poetic metaphor the sorrow of those who loved a singer and a friend"<sup>3</sup>. It is the conventional form to employ,

When poets for a poet dead are sighing,  
The minstrels for a minstrel friend laid low.

To speak only of English poetry, let me remind you that Milton's *Lycidas* was written for his friend Edward King, Shelley's *Adonais* for his friend John Keats, Matthew Arnold's *Thyrsis* for his friend Arthur Clough. But the dirge of Moschus has been imitated in other countries as well—in Italy and France and Germany and Portugal and Spain—"a song that all about the world must go". Let me read the little poem from which I have been quoting, a poem by Andrew Lang.

The wail of Moschus on the mountains crying  
The Muses heard, and loved it long ago;  
They heard the hollows of the hills replying,  
They heard the weeping water's overflow;  
They winged the sacred strain—the song undying,  
The song that all about the world must go,—  
When poets for a poet dead are sighing,  
The minstrels for a minstrel friend laid low.

And dirge to dirge that answers, and the weeping  
For *Adonais* by the summer sea,  
The plaints for *Lycidas*, and *Thyrsis* (sleeping  
Far from 'the forest ground called Thessaly'),  
These hold thy memory, Bion, in their keeping,  
And are but echoes of the moan for thee.

<sup>1</sup>The chief model of Shelley's *Adonais* is Bion's Lament for Adonis, though he has borrowed also some of the imagery of Moschus's Lament for Bion.

<sup>2</sup>See G. Norlin, *The Conventions of the Pastoral Elegy*, in *The American Journal of Philology*, 32: 294-312.

<sup>3</sup>This paper was read at the Eighth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, at Barnard College, April 17, 1914.

I wish I had time to speak of the special imagery of these great Greek dirges, or to indicate the extent of their influence upon modern poetry. But I can stop this evening to mention only a few English echoes of a single passage. I mean the famous passage in the *Lament for Bion* which dwells upon the pathetic contrast between the immortality of Nature and the mortality of man. The seasons pass and return, the leaves and flowers fade and come again, but man dies and comes not again.

Ah me, when the mallows wither in the garden, and the green parsley, and the curled tendrils of the anise, on a later day they live again, and spring in another year; but we men, we, the great and mighty, or wise, when once we have died, in hollow earth we sleep, gone down into silence—a right long, and endless, and unawakening sleep<sup>4</sup>.

This contrast is one of the most natural, and one of the most effective features of the dirge, and it is not surprising that it becomes one of the favorite conventions of the modern pastoral elegy<sup>5</sup>. It occurs, for example, in Spenser's *Shepherds' Calendar* (Nov.)—though Spenser took it from Moschus at second hand, through Clément Marot:

Whence is it, that the flouret of the field doth fade,  
And lyeth buried long in Winters bale;  
Yet, soone as spring his mantle doth display,  
It floureth fresh, as it should never fayle?  
But thing on earth that is of most availle,  
As virtues braunch and beauties budde,  
Reliven not for any good.

It occurs in Shelley's *Adonais*:

Ah woe is me! Winter is come and gone,  
But grief returns with the revolving year.  
The airs and streams renew their joyous tone;  
The ants, the bees, the swallows reappear;  
Fresh leaves and flowers deck the dead Season's bier;—

Alas! that all we loved of him should be,  
But for our grief, as if it had not been.

It is repeated in an elaborate passage of Matthew Arnold's *Thyrsis*:

Soon will the high midsummer pomps come on,  
Soon will the musk carnations break and swell,

But Thyrsis never more we swains shall see.

And it is echoed in Wordsworth's *After-Thought* (Duddon):

While we, the brave, the mighty, and the wise,  
We men, who in our morn of youth defied  
The elements, must vanish.

But the greatest disciple of Theocritus, and his closest imitator, is Vergil. In Vergil's *Eclogues* almost every pastoral motive which we find in Theocritus is carefully imitated—so carefully that his poems become very artificial and conventional. Even his Italian scenery has some features which are borrowed from the uplands of Sicily. But the great change under his hand is the introduction, or rather the freer use, of pastoral

allegory; and more than once, under the thin disguise of shepherds, we may recognize the poet himself, and various patrons or friends. For example, two of his poems refer to his own personal experiences at a time when some of the lands of Northern Italy were taken from their owners and given to the veteran soldiers. And four of the others are written, or dedicated, in compliment to Gallus and Varus and Pollio. As for his *Fourth Eclogue*—which is perhaps the most famous of the series—it is hardly to be called pastoral at all. It professedly "strikes a somewhat louder chord" than the others, and it celebrates the expected birth of a child whose coming is to mark the return of the Golden Age. That is the poem in which many of the early Christians saw a prophecy of the Messiah, the poem in which—as Dante believed—Vergil showed unto others who came after him the Christ whom he saw not himself: 'Thou didst play the part of one who, walking by night, carries behind him a light which benefits him not, but directs those who follow after him' (*Purg. xxii. 70*).

As for the later bucolic poets of Rome, Calpurnius and Nemesianus, I must speak of them very briefly, although they deserve much more attention than they nowadays receive. They are always mentioned together, and for a long time their eclogues were regarded as the work of a single author; but most scholars are now agreed to assign the poems of Calpurnius to the reign of Nero, and those of Nemesianus to the second half of the third century. Both poets follow the Vergilian model very closely, and repeat the same old subjects of the dirge, the love-song and the singing-match; but one of the eclogues of Calpurnius—like Vergil's *Fourth*—celebrates the return of the Golden Age, while another has a special interest because it describes a show in the great amphitheater at Rome. Here the chief speaker is a shepherd who has just returned from the city and gives his stay-at-home friend an enthusiastic description of the magnificence of the building and the great variety of the wild beasts.

And I can mention only one of the writers of the early Christian centuries who adapted the pastoral form to Christian themes. About the beginning of the fifth century we have a dialogue in *Asclepiad* stanzas in which one herdsman laments the loss of his cattle by an epidemic, and the other explains that his herds had been spared because he had marked them all with the cross. Then the first speaker exclaims, 'Surely that is the religion for me'; and forthwith he renounces his Paganism and becomes a Christian.

But, coming down a few hundred years, we have an interesting revival of the eclogue at the Court of Charlemagne. Charlemagne had gathered about him a little circle of scholars—the greatest of them Alcuin—and their enthusiasm for Vergil led them to write eclogues after the Vergilian manner. Indeed, their enthusiasm for the great Roman poets led them to form themselves into a sort of little Academy, and call each other by great Roman names. For example, Alcuin

<sup>4</sup>Translation by Andrew Lang.

<sup>5</sup>G. Norlin, *op. cit.*, 307.

himself was Flaccus, one of his disciples was Naso—while Angilbert was Homer. So, too, the head cook of the establishment was Menalcas, and the chamberlain, Thyrsis.

One of these eclogues, which goes under the name of Naso, celebrates the establishment of Charlemagne's empire, with its promise of peace and of the return of the Golden Age. Another, which is usually ascribed to Alcuin himself, is a noteworthy specimen of the 'conflictus'—or poetical debate—a form which afterward became very popular. This is a debate between Winter and Spring, where of course the assembled shepherds decide in favor of Spring<sup>6</sup>.

Another poem which should be mentioned here is the Eclogue of Theodulus, which probably belongs to the middle of the ninth century. This eclogue was widely used for centuries as a school book, especially in England. It is a contest between a shepherd Pseustis and a shepherdess Alithia. Pseustis (or Falsehood) is a young Athenian; Alithia (or Truth) is a beautiful maiden descended from King David. And there is an umpire—an older woman named Fronesis (i. e. Wisdom, or Intelligence). One singer mentions a series of wonderful exploits out of the Pagan mythology, and the other matches them by equally marvellous stories out of the Bible. Thus, Pseustis sings of the reign of Saturn and the Golden Age, and Alithia replies by telling of the Garden of Eden; the Pagan story of the decline to the Silver Age is matched by the story of Adam's Fall; the story of Diomedes, who fought with Venus, by the story of Jacob, who wrestled with an angel; the story of Hippolytus by the story of Joseph, and so on, and so on, through 352 lines.

After the Revival of Learning in Italy, the pastoral eclogue was taken up again with fresh enthusiasm, and some of its traditional features were still further developed. Here the great names are Petrarch and Boccaccio, in the middle of the fourteenth century, and Mantuan and Sannazaro, about the close of the fifteenth.

The twelve Latin Eclogues of Petrarch are so full of allegory that they must have been very obscure, even to his contemporaries. Indeed, Petrarch himself says of them, in one of his letters (Fam. 10. 4):

This kind of poetry is one that cannot be understood unless a key to it is furnished by the person who constructed it. So, as I would not have you weary yourself to no purpose, I must give you a brief outline, first of what I say, then of what I mean by it.

This idea of the eclogue had been fostered, I suppose, by the medieval habit of looking for allegory in everything which Vergil wrote; for Vergil, himself an imitator, had long since become the great model in pastoral verse. Thus, in Petrarch's hands the eclogue became very often a vehicle for covert satire upon Church and State; one of his poems is a bitter attack upon the

Papal Court at Avignon. Yet even here we find the traditional use of the pastoral dirge; and one of his eclogues is a lament over the death of that Laura whose praises are sung in so many of his sonnets.

Of Boccaccio's sixteen Latin Eclogues there is very little to say, except that they bear a rather close resemblance to those of Petrarch. They are somewhat more Vergilian, but still contain much covert allusion to personages of his own day. In one of them his little daughter returns to him from the grave, and gives him a detailed description of the Paradise into which she has entered. In another we have a corresponding description of the Inferno. His chief importance, however, in the history of the pastoral lies less in the character of his eclogues than in the fact that he set a new literary fashion by the development of the pastoral romance.

Coming down to the close of the fifteenth century, we have the ten Latin Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus. This is the "good old Mantuan" who is quoted in *Love's Labour's Lost* (4. 2. 95). He was born at Mantua—hence his name—in 1448, and he died at the same place in 1516. Early in life he entered a Carmelite monastery, and he rose in time to be General of his order. His Eclogues were first printed in 1498, though most of them had been written more than thirty years earlier. They were very popular from the beginning, and soon came to be widely read—not only in Italy, but in France, and Spain, and Germany, and England. They were immediately provided with a commentary, and for nearly 200 years they were commonly used, both on the Continent and in England, as a text-book in schools. Indeed, they were often preferred, for school reading, even to the Eclogues of Vergil. They are very often quoted by sixteenth and seventeenth century authors, and they were very freely imitated in the early attempts at pastoral in Germany and England. For Germany, I need mention only the Latin eclogues of Eobanus Hessus and Euricius Cordus; for England, the Eclogues of Alexander Barclay and Spenser's *Shepherds Calendar*.

It is not easy in our day to understand the long and widespread popularity of these eclogues, and especially their popularity as a school book. The fact that they were written by an eminent Churchman must have commended them to many schoolmasters, and their high moral tone made them seem safer reading for boys than some classical poetry; but that advantage must have been offset in some measure by their prevailing tone of satire. I said a moment ago that Petrarch sometimes made the eclogue a vehicle of covert satire; but in Mantuan's eclogues satire—and that a very outspoken satire—has actually become the controlling element. So that, if I give you a brief summary of one or two of the poems, it may help to explain the tendency to satire which is so marked in the early English pastoral; and at the same time it may be interesting to see just what kind of thing the schoolboys of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries read.

<sup>6</sup>In an earlier poem—apparently of the end of the third century—we have a similar contest between the Cook and the Baker, in which each extols his own art and depreciates the other's. And there was a whole flood of such things—in Latin—in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The Fourth Eclogue is a long satire on the failings of women—a favorite topic with medieval writers—and it is the most famous of the series. It is introduced by a short story which serves as a sort of curtain-raiser. The first speaker tells of a young goatherd who had been his helper. He had been a valuable assistant until his head was turned by a girl who came to draw water. From that time he was worse than useless; he talked in his sleep and dreamed when he was awake. One day, while fooling with his he-goat, he tied the animal in a thicket, and then went home without thinking of him again—for his thoughts were all on the girl with the water-jar. At night he remembered the captive, and started back through the darkness to release him. But he fell into a covered wolf-pit, and was not found till next day. Then the girl—who had been the indirect cause of all this trouble—put on an air of especial innocence and modesty, and pretended not to know of the lad's passion for her. And this story of the girl's behavior reminds the other speaker of a long poem on the failings of women, which he repeats.

This poem begins, abruptly enough, with the statement that 'women are a low lot'—*Femineum servile genus, crudele, superbum*—and then runs on with the statement that woman delights in extremes and can do nothing in moderation. She either loves you too ardently or hates you with a deadly hatred, etc. Moreover, she is full of contradictions:

*flet, ridet, sapit, insanit, formidat et audet,  
vult, non vult, secumque sibi contraria pugnat—*

'she laughs and cries, she is foolish and wise, she is timid and bold; she will, she won't, and is always self-contradictory and contrary'. Then we have a whole mass of uncomplimentary adjectives all in one breath,

*mobilis, inconstans, vaga, garrula, vana, bilinguis,  
imperiosa, minax, indignabunda, cruenta—*

'she is variable and inconstant, a gadabout, a chatter-box, empty-headed, double-tongued, bad-tempered and cruel', and so on, and so on, through eleven solid lines. The poem dwells especially upon the faithlessness of women, and cites a list of illustrious examples, from Eve down: Tarpeia, Medea, Scylla daughter of Nisus, Helen, Eriphyle, Rebecca, and the rest. What woman, it asks, ever went down to Hades and returned?—as Aeneas did, and Hercules, and Theseus, and others (the implication is that women feel at home there). Think, too, of the great men who have been undone by women—David, and Solomon, and Samson, and the rest. These are the Harpies of story; these are the Scyllas and Charybdes and Gorgons.

In the Sixth Eclogue, one shepherd repeats a story which explains that the difference between the lot of the countryman and that of the townsfolk was fixed at the beginning, when the Creator ordained that some of Eve's younger children should be shepherds, and ploughmen, and laborers in the field. Then the other speaker retorts with a lively satire on the evils of life in a city.

The story which forms the first part of the eclogue runs something like this. In the beginning Adam and Eve were left to themselves for a long time; but at the end of fifteen years the Lord came around, on a sort of pastoral visit, to see how they were getting on. Eve was sitting at her house door, combing and dressing her numerous offspring; and when she saw the Lord coming, she caught up a lot of the smaller fry and ran and hid them in the barn. And then she tried to make the older children as presentable as possible. Then the Lord came in and greeted her, and asked to see her children. And when he saw the older children, he was very kind and complimentary, and petted them and stroked them like so many little birds or young puppies; and to the eldest he said, 'You shall be king of all the earth', and to the second, 'You shall be a mighty warrior', and to the third, 'You shall be a great governor', and so on, thus distributing among them the great honors of the world. Then Eve was sorry that she had not brought all her family; and she ran in haste to bring in the others, and ask for some similar favors for them. But their hair was full of straw and chaff, and their clothes were covered with cobwebs; and they were altogether a most unpromising lot. And the Lord said, 'Really, I can't do anything with such material as that. They'll have to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the others'. And that is why their descendants, who are the countrymen, have always been the servants of the townsfolk<sup>1</sup>.

I have spoken of "good old Mantuan" at disproportionate length, partly because I have had a personal share in recalling him from the oblivion into which he had fallen<sup>2</sup>, but mainly because he is a very important link in the tradition of the pastoral eclogue. His poems are interesting in themselves, they are interesting as a specimen of Humanistic Latin, and they had a very considerable influence upon European literature.

A few years later, or at the beginning of the sixteenth century, we have five Latin Eclogues by the Neapolitan poet Jacopo Sannazaro. The subjects are the regular traditional subjects—the dirge, the lover's complaint, the singing-match, and so forth—but the Vergilian conventions are all modified, and the pastoral eclogue becomes a 'piscatory' eclogue, or an idyl of fishermen. The singers are no longer shepherds but fishermen, and the scene is no longer Sicily or Arcadia, but the Bay of Naples. The wood-nymphs are transformed into sea-nymphs, the rustic gods into gods of the sea. Instead of flocks and herds, the speakers talk of boats and fishing-nets and lobster-pots; and instead of flowers and fruits, the lover's gifts are oysters and shells and pearls and coral. And even this 'piscatory' variant on the traditional theme had its imitators, not only in Italy, but in other lands—Camoens in Portugal, Lope de Vega in Spain, Remy Belleau in France, and Phineas Fletcher in England.

<sup>1</sup>This poem is paraphrased by Alexander Barclay, in his fifth Eclogue, *Of the disputation of Citizens and men of the Countrey*.

<sup>2</sup>The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus, edited with Introduction and Notes by W. P. Mustard (Baltimore, 1911).

Here again I have been tempted to give an undue amount of time to a single poet, because it happens that I am preparing an edition of Sannazaro<sup>9</sup>—and the particular author a man is working on always seems especially important. But I have resisted the temptation very nobly, and I shall speak of only one or two of these poems.

In the Fourth Eclogue two fishermen, returning from Capri in the darkness of night, listen to the songs of Proteus, who sings to the accompaniment of the sporting dolphins and the chorus of Tritons, just as in Vergil's Sixth Eclogue young Chromis and Mnasyllus listen to the songs of Silenus, while 'rough Satyrs dance and Fauns with cloven heel'. Silenus sings of the creation of the world and of many wonderful themes of ancient story, while Proteus repeats the legendary history of various places about the Bay of Naples—of Baiae, and Cumae, and the Rocks of the Sirens, and Naples, and Pompeii, and the rest. Even the formulae by which Vergil passes from one subject to another are carefully borrowed or imitated, and the whole structure of his poem is very ingeniously followed, even in minute details.

In the Second Eclogue a young fisherman laments the cruelty of his Galatea, just as in Vergil's Second the shepherd Corydon laments the cruelty of the young Alexis. In Vergil, the singer begins his complaint in the hot noonday, when even the cattle are seeking the shade and the reapers are resting, and he pours forth his unstudied strains until 'the bullocks are drawing home the plough, and the sun, as he withdraws, is doubling the lengthening shadows'. In Sannazaro, the singer begins his complaint at the dead of night, when the fishermen are drawing in their nets and their lights are scattered over the waters, and he breaks off his lament only at the coming of dawn.

This change from day to night is quite in keeping with the nocturnal habits of the Neapolitan fishermen. And you will remember that in Theocritus the two old fishermen rise up at night, and discuss the dream of the golden fish. But the whole of Sannazaro's eclogue is given a piscatory tone, so that, instead of a shepherd who boasts of his wealth in cattle and of a thousand lambs that wander over the hills, and offers gifts of flowers and fruits, we have a fisherman who says he has sent his love a thousand oysters, and offers further gifts of sea-urchins and purple shell-fish. He adds too, as if it were worthy of special mention, that his oysters and shell-fish do not shrink in the dark of the moon. This implies the very ancient belief that shell-fish fill as the moon does, and shrink as the moon wanes. It is stated half-a-dozen times in Pliny's Natural History; it is found in one of the Satires of Horace (2. 4. 30, *lubrica nascentes implet conchyliis lunae*), and it is quoted in a line of Lucilius (1062, *Luna alit ostrea et implet echinos*, etc.). Or, if you prefer a more recent statement of the matter, let me quote a few lines from an

English eclogue published in 1712. The author's name was W. Diaper, and he was a protégé of Dean Swift.

The conscious Fish the heav'nly Motions feel,  
And thus confin'd within his native Shell  
All dry and lean the mournful Oister lies  
(And Fishers then the tasteless Prey despise),  
But when the Moon looks down all over bright,  
They juicy grow, nourish'd with heav'nly Light.

And when once the conventional tone of the pastoral had been so far modified that the speakers might be fishermen instead of shepherds, it soon occurred to the poets to attempt other variations. Accordingly, we find 'nautical' eclogues, where the singers are not fishermen but sailors, 'venatory' eclogues, with the songs of huntsmen, 'vinitory' eclogues, with the songs of vine-dressers, 'sea' eclogues, with the songs of Tritons and mermen, and 'mixed' eclogues, in which the speakers are a fisherman and a shepherd, or 'a woodman, fisher and a swain'.

Even before the close of the fifteenth century, men had begun to write pastoral eclogues in Italian, as well as in Latin; and after the year 1500 we find a great host of such poems, not only in Italian, but in other modern tongues—in English and French and German and Spanish and Portuguese. But even a bare catalogue of the leading names would take more time than I can spare for it this evening. The pastoral form was found to be a most convenient one for the safer discussion of political or religious matters, for criticizing a rival or praising a patron, or for describing a mistress in language which could hardly have been acceptable or permissible in direct address. And so Tityrus sits piping everywhere, even in lands of which Theocritus had never dreamed; and hereafter almost "every branch of literature—lyric and sonnet, elegy and romance, comedy and masque—bears some mark of the prevailing fashion"<sup>10</sup>.

And the fashion which thus began in various countries continued almost unbroken down to the middle of the 18th century—until the pastoral became "a literary plague in every European capital". The same old pastoral themes—the dirge, the love-lay and the singing-match—are repeated again and again by writers of every degree of taste and skill, until the Doric strains of Theocritus are echoed once more in the Northern Doric of Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd. In Milton's Lycidas the eclogue is raised and ennobled until it touches the high-water mark of English poetry; in other hands it often sinks to mere pastoral doggerel, and we wonder that anyone could write such things seriously in any age.

Sometimes we find a protest against the prevailing fashion, in the way of burlesque or parody. Early in the sixteenth century we have various macaronic eclogues written in a mixture of Latin and Italian. In 1589 we find an English burlesque in Robert Greene's famous eclogue of Doron and Carmela—a kind of fooling which had already been practised in Florence by

<sup>9</sup>The Piscatory Eclogues of Jacopo Sannazaro, published at Baltimore, November, 1914.

<sup>10</sup>E. K. Chambers, *English Pastorals*, p. xix (London, 1895).

Lorenzo de' Medici. And in the eighteenth century we have a number of burlesques or parodies—Town Eclogues, a Culinary Eclogue, a School Eclogue, even a Quaker Eclogue—, until it seemed that even the eighteenth century was beginning to tire of the pastoral convention, and the eclogue at last drops out of popular favor, though only to reappear in the next century in Shelley's *Adonais* and Matthew Arnold's *Thyrsis* and Tennyson's *English Idyls*. For the very title of the *English Idyls* is meant to suggest their close relationship to the *Idyls* of Theocritus.

I said a moment ago "even the eighteenth century", for that was a time when the pastoral flourished most widely, and in all its forms. And yet even that century had had its early protests against the prevailing fashion, and especially against the hackneyed conventions of the pastoral dirge. Let me read a few sentences from an essay in *The Guardian* for April 15, 1713—an essay which is commonly supposed to have been written by Joseph Addison:

I must in the first place observe, that our countrymen have so good an opinion of the ancients, and think so modestly of themselves, that the generality of pastoral-writers have either stolen all from the Greeks and Romans, or so servilely imitated their manners and customs, as makes them very ridiculous. In looking over some English pastorals a few days ago, I perused at least fifty lean flocks, and reckoned up an hundred left-handed ravens, besides blasted oaks, withering meadows, and weeping deities. Indeed most of the occasional pastorals we have, are built upon one and the same plan. A shepherd asks his fellow, 'Why he is so pale? if his favourite sheep hath strayed? if his pipe be broken? or Phyllis unkind?' He answers, 'None of these misfortunes have befallen him, but one much greater, for Damon or sometimes the god Pan is dead'. This immediately causes the other to make complaints, and call upon the lofty pines and silver streams to join in the lamentation. While he goes on, his friend interrupts him, and tells him that Damon lives, and shows him a track of light in the skies to confirm it; then invites him to chestnuts and cheese. Upon this scheme most of the noble families in Great-Britain have been comforted; nor can I meet with any right honourable shepherd that doth not die and live again, after the manner of the aforesaid Damon.

One form of pastoral literature which developed early and had a great vogue was the Pastoral Romance. Such things were known in ancient Greece, as we see in the famous story of *Daphnis and Chloe*. And Boccaccio developed the form by writing a prose romance in which he inserted regular pastoral eclogues in verse. But the great name in this department is that of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*—first published in 1502—the work which is responsible more than any other for the imaginary *Arcadia* of all modern pastoral and romance.

This imaginary *Arcadia*—developed from sundry hints in Vergil, and very different from the actual *Arcadia* of Greece—is a kind of earthly paradise, the home of innocent and happy shepherds singing in shady haunts amid the murmur of limpid fountains. And from this time on, *Arcadia* rather than Sicily is the

home and the symbol of all things pastoral. The usual idea of the scenery of the region and of the life of its people is given in the *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney—an elaborate picture of wooded hills, and well-watered valleys, and flowery meadows, and grazing flocks:

Here a shepherd's boy piping as though he should never be old; there a young shepherdess knitting, and withal singing, and it seemed that her voice comforted her hands to work, and her hands kept time to her voice-music.

Sannazaro's Italian romance was exceedingly popular from the beginning, and the fashion soon spread to other lands—to Portugal and Spain and France and England. Thus in Portugal we have the *Menina e moça* of Ribeiro; in Spain, the *Diana* of Montemayor, the *Galatea* of Cervantes and the *Arcadia* of Lope de Vega; in France, the *Astrée* of Honoré d'Urfé; in England, Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* and Robert Greene's *Menaphon*. And in the middle of the eighteenth century the pastoral romance was revived again for Germany and France, in the works of Gesner and Florian.

Such romances were especially popular in sixteenth-century Spain, and Cervantes has more than one touch of satire for them in his *Don Quixote*. Thus, where the Curate and the Barber are examining the library which they suspect of having turned the Knight's weak head, the Niece suggests that the books of poetry as well as the books of Knighthood should be burned,

Lest that mine uncle, after that he be cured of his knightly disease, may fall, by reading of these, in a humour of becoming a shepherd, and so wander through the woods and fields, singing of roundelays and playing on a crowd.

But the satire of Cervantes—who had himself written a pastoral romance in his youth—was not sufficient to check the popular fashion; and his belated protest is mainly interesting as an indication of the popularity of such compositions in the Spain of his day. One of these Spanish romances—the *Diana* of Montemayor—served as one of the models of Sidney's *Arcadia*, and supplied Shakespeare with the plot of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, while another has the special interest for us of having been written in America. This is the *Siglo de Oro*, or *The Golden Age*, of Valbuena. And it reminds us of some distant facts in American civilization and American literature, to read that this author was born in 1568, that he was educated in a College in Mexico, that he became Abbot of Jamaica in 1607, and Bishop of Porto Rico in 1620.

Another department of literature which has been affected by the pastoral fashion is that of lyric poetry; and the Pastoral Lyric is one of the chief glories of Elizabethan English. Sometimes it stands alone; sometimes it is imbedded in a drama or romance. I need only mention the names of Lodge and Greene, of Breton and Campion, of Shakespeare and Fletcher, or for a little later period Drayton and Herrick and Wither.

Still another form of pastoral is the Pastoral Drama, with its shepherds and shepherdesses and nymphs and satyrs. This too began in Italy, with Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Pastor Fido*; and this too was soon imitated in France, in Spain, and in England. But I can stop to mention only the three great English masterpieces: Ben Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*, John Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, and Thomas Randolph's *Amyn-tas*. And with the pastoral drama we may join the Pastoral Masque, of which the great example in any language is Milton's *Comus*.

This hasty sketch may serve to suggest the long and wide-spread popularity of pastoral forms. To be sure, the form itself is artificial and conventional as can well be imagined; and from the days of Theocritus on it has always been most popular in scenes and circumstances very far removed from the actual life of the shepherd. And this artificiality is developed and increased until in the eighteenth century the pastoral is a ridiculous thing in every land.

With a Corydon in ruffles and knee-breeches piping to a Phyllis with patched cheeks and a ribbon on her crook, or a Marie Antoinette playing the shepherdess in the gardens of Trianon, while the real peasants were dying upon their nettle-broth outside<sup>11</sup>.

And yet with all its artificiality, and all its later follies, the pastoral has never lost its hold upon the hearts of men; for in every age men have been glad to turn away at times from the world that is too much with them, and seek refuge in an imaginary world of innocence, and happiness, and song.

And if a short sketch of the pastoral brings out the wide and long continued influence of a single-Greek poet, the result is only such as we should find by a systematic study of almost every other department of our literature. For the art and culture of ancient Greece are still among the richest parts of our inheritance. And, as Mr. Lowell once said, on a notable occasion, "The garners of Sicily are empty now, but the bees from all climes still fetch honey from the tiny garden-plot of Theocritus".

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

## REVIEWS

The Influence of Art on Description in the Poetry of P. Papinius Statius. By Thomas Shearer Duncan. Johns Hopkins University Dissertation. Baltimore, Md.: J. H. Furst Company (1914). Pp. 103.

It is the purpose of this dissertation to show that the "tendency toward picture drawing" which Catullus and his followers inherited from their Alexandrian models "took a unique turn" in the epic poems of Statius.

An Introduction of twelve pages gives a brief discussion of the question of the relationship existing between poetry and the plastic arts. In the opening words of

Pindar's fifth Nemean the author finds "a text for Lessing's protest against the confusion of the two".

The body of the dissertation is divided into four chapters which treat of the peculiar element in Statius's descriptive passages. Says Mr. Duncan (p. 11):

Like his predecessors he draws elaborate pictures, which in themselves suggest the influence of the Alexandrians. But as if this were not enough—as if a description, with the object in mind, were not sufficient—he turns from the particular thing he is describing and places before the reader a conventional picture, which he seems to consider the embodiment of the object before him: so that the reader turns from the poet's description, not with the object before his eyes, but the picture or statue which the poet has suggested.

To illustrate this tendency the author in Chapter I (13-73) gathers together eleven instances from the *Thebaid* and compares Statius's treatment of a traditional motif with that of his predecessors. The first general impression which one brings away from a study of the parallel passages cited is that of the artificiality of Statius's descriptions. Our sympathy with those who bear the sorrows of war (*bella matribus detestata*) is lost in our thought of a work of art as we pass from Vergil's suggestive words (*Aeneid* 7. 518),

et trepidae matres pressere ad pectora natos,

to the conventional picture of Statius's lines (*Thebaid* 1. 121-122):

ipsa suum genetrix curvo delphine vagantem  
abrupit frenis gremioque Palaemona pressit.

Statius leaves little to the imagination of the reader. The charm of a vague suggestiveness, on the other hand, is a striking characteristic of Vergil's art. In the phrase of Dryden, "Virgil had the gift of expressing much in little, and sometimes in silence". It is just this difference that one feels in comparing Statius's portrayal of the death of Menalcas (*Thebaid* 8. 436-437),

dilecta genis morientis oberrant

Taygeta et pugnae laudataque pectora matri,

with Vergil's description of the dying Antiores (*Aeneid* 10. 781-782),

caelumque

aspicit, et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos,

a passage which called forth a tribute from Ste. Beuve, whose words of sympathetic appreciation take on new meaning in the light of recent events: "Il est devenu notre frère, notre compatriote à tous, ce guerrier mourant qui d'un dernier regard se plaint au Ciel et se souvient de sa chère Argos".

Chapter II (74-80) is devoted to a consideration of examples cited by Legras (*Étude sur la Thébaïde de Stace*), all but one of which "refer to forms of athletes or athletic contests". Here, as the author observes, the tendency toward the plastic is inevitable. In his discussion of the poet's similes (Chapter III, 81-88) the author finds that Statius, *nimium amator ingenii sui*, is unable to let well enough alone; the effect of the comparison is often weakened by the addition of a

<sup>11</sup>E. K. Chambers, *op. cit.*, xv.

picture or by an excess of detail—a conclusion in line with Conington's general criticism of the poet's lack of self-restraint (Miscellaneous Writings, I. 373). Several illustrative passages from the *Achilleid* are discussed in the concluding chapter (89–100). A bibliography follows (101–103).

The author has done his work with thoroughness. The value of his conclusions, however, would not have been lessened had he in several instances limited the discussion of points less germane to the question at issue.

In the Introduction (9) Andrew Lang is quoted inaccurately; the phrases "backgrounds of pastoral landscape" and "a new order of subjects" of the original appear as "backgrounds of natural landscape" and "a new order of subject". Consistency is desirable in choosing between the two methods of spelling Vergil's name (15, 18, 52, 53, et passim). I have noted also a number of misprints. Should not 'Emmenessius' be read for "Emmensius" (21)? In referring to Legras's work there is an omission of the accent on pages 51 and 74. Other misprints include "différens" for 'différents' (8), "threshold" for 'threshold' (71), "debat" for 'dabat' (80), "regentem" for 'regentem' (100).

RANDOLPH MACON WOMAN'S  
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HERBERT C. LIPSCOMB.

### THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF LIBERAL STUDIES

The third general meeting of The Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies was held on Friday, February 26, at the Philadelphia High School for Girls.

The program was begun at five o'clock with an illustrated lecture on The Palaces and Towns of Crete, by Dr. Edith H. Hall, Assistant Curator of the Mediterranean Section of the University Museum. After a few remarks on the impossibility of excavation in Crete until the end of the Turkish rule in the island, Dr. Hall described the most interesting of the remains at Cnossos, where Sir Arthur Evans has been uncovering the palace of Minos; then she described the excavations of the Italians in the southern part of the island, and those of the Americans in the eastern portion, in which she herself participated for several seasons. The most noteworthy views were those of the chryselephantine statuette of the 'snake goddess', recently acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The statuette is unique, since it still retains the gold ornamentation placed upon the ivory; in all other examples of this technique the gold has disappeared.

Supper was served in the dining rooms of the school, and at 7.30 the evening session was begun. Two Latin plays, A Roman School and A Roman Wedding, were presented by students of the Philadelphia High School for Girls, under the direction of Miss Jessie E. Allen, Head of the Classical Department in the School, and met with great favor. The participants acted with zeal and understanding, and showed clearly how inspiring such work can become. The careful pronunciation of the actors was remarked by many of the auditors.

At the conclusion of the plays, Professor Charles Knapp, of Columbia University, delivered an address upon Liberal Studies. Drawing upon the writings of Cicero, as well as from the plays of Plautus, he showed that in Rome in ancient times there existed the outcry against liberal studies, and the clamor for those studies which seemed to be immediately practical and vocational. But he went on to show that Cicero, disregarding the general attitude of his fellowcountrymen, applied himself to the acquisition of the finest and widest education possible, including a most thorough training in Greek and in philosophy, as a necessary preliminary to a career as statesman and orator (i. e. the very career which the Romans regarded as most 'practical'), and that his training in these lines was what raised him above his rivals, and gave him his proud place as Rome's greatest orator, as well as his high position in many other lines. Cicero was the best educated and best trained man that Rome ever produced.

At intervals in the program, and at the close of the address, students of the School rendered in most pleasing fashion a number of Latin and Greek songs.

Both sessions were presided over by Professor Walter Dennison, of Swarthmore College, President of the Society. The Treasurer, Dr. G. D. Hadzsits, of the University of Pennsylvania, reports that the Society now numbers over 350 members, and that numerous additions to the roll were made at the meeting. About one hundred and fifty were present at the afternoon session; the attendance at the evening session was close to five hundred.

The first annual business meeting of the Society will be held at the Drexel Institute, Thirty-Second and Chestnut Streets, on Saturday, March 27.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

R. G. KENT.

### A GALIC PARALLEL

Professor Kent's note in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 8. 136 on the use of *plutei* by the German forces in Poland leads me to call attention to the fact that the Gauls, as well as the Germans, know their Classics. In the Chicago Tribune of December 22, 1914, appeared an illustration of certain French defenses in Northern France, representing a large area thickly beset by sharply pointed posts set in tapering holes, wide at the top and narrow at the bottom. Were it not for the barbed-wire entanglement appearing in the rear and the fact that the picture is evidently taken from a photograph, one might easily imagine that some reconstruction of the *lilia* described by Caesar B. G. 7. 73 as used at Alesia had, by an accident in the editor's office, strayed into the company of machine guns and aeroplanes.

I might also note that The London Chronicle (as quoted by The Boston Transcript of December 19, 1914) refers to the Austrians at Belgrade as using a modern adaptation of the ancient catapult.

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